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ABSTRACT

This study continues a series of reports on the work of the team which has carried out a sociolinguistic survey of multilingual communities. This study deals with an early sample of the results of the St. Lucian survey, and in particular with the extent to which they provide support for the theoretical model of linguistic choice and change, and rebut the linear, implicational-scale model of Bickerton (1975). The center of interest in this study has been the child in a multilingual community. The paper brings together data of three kinds: (1) from the social, demographic and economic history of St. Lucia; (2) from the linguistic behavior of 100 St. Lucian children; and (3) from social and economic observations on the family circumstances of those children. It was hypothesized that a child's linguistic behavior is symptomatic of his desire to identify with a particular group, in this case, speakers of Standard English, speakers of Bajanised English, or speakers of patois. At this time there seems to be no move towards a common acrolect in St. Lucia, but undoubtedly a local variety of English will emerge, and re-creolization will be seen to have played its part. (AM)

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DE-CREOLIZATION AND RE-CREOLIZATION:

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF MULTILINGUAL COMMUNITIES STAGE II: ST. LUCIA

R. B. Le Page

1. *Introductory note*

This study continues a series of reports on the work of the team which has so far carried out the Sociolinguistic Survey of Multilingual Communities.[1] (Earlier reports are listed in the bibliography.) I am here concerned with an early sample of the results of our St. Lucian survey; in particular, with the extent to which they provide support for our theoretical model of linguistic choice and change, and rebut the linear, implicational-scale model of Bickerton (1975).

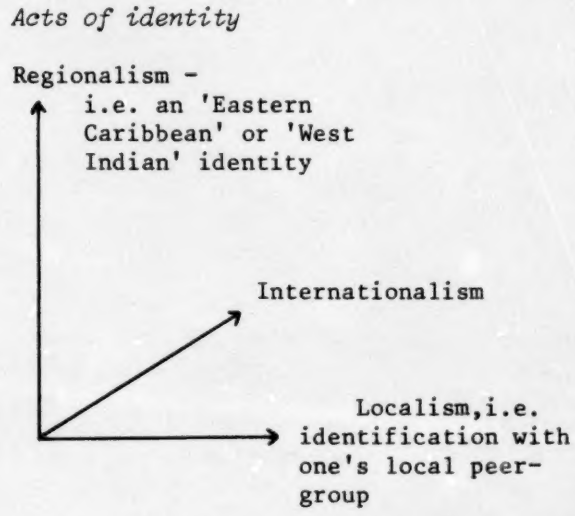
The survey grew out of the linguistic survey of the formerly British Caribbean territories, begun in 1951. Thus it undoubtedly owes much of its theoretical bias to the creole and contact situations of that region. It stems also however from the desire to adopt a 'holist' approach to language, and the consequent plan to bring together a social psychologist, an anthropologist and a linguist to work as a team on a succession of studies to refine a joint approach and provide comparative data for an integrative sociolinguistic theory. In particular, it derives its social psychological expertise from Andrée Tabouret-Keller, who has worked on bilingual problems, especially those affecting education, in several parts of the world: Alsace, Francophone Africa, Quebec and the Caribbean in particular.

The centre of interest for both of us has been the child growing up in a multilingual community; his socialization through various agencies; the linguistic symptoms of his search for an identity and a social role; the problems of the individual's 'competence', the community's sense of *langue* and the social and political importance attached to the latter.

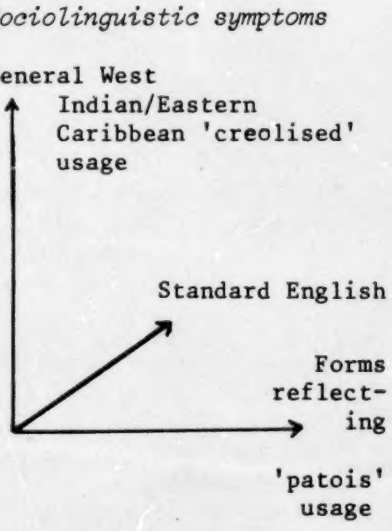
The theoretical approach rests on a number of possibly idiosyncratic but for our purposes important postulates, reached because they have seemed to give the only consistently reasonable framework for our studies. They have been set out in a number of papers published or at press since 1968. These refer in particular to (a) the nature of social 'rules' (Le Page 1968), (b) the concept of 'competence' (Le Page 1973, 1975a), (c) the relationship between code, language, speaker and context of use (Le Page 1973, 1975a), (d) the processes of pidginization and creolization, and social constraints on learning, (Le Page 1977), (e) the various different abstractions referred to by the word 'language' (Le Page 1975a) and the fact that there can be no such thing as a 'purely linguistic' description, such as Bickerton attempts. In our theory the forms taken by speech acts are seen as determined by their character as tokens of identity and social role.

As a very crude and simple example of the approach, children may be

viewed as positioning themselves with each act of discourse in a multi-dimensional space, the co-ordinates for each position being given by the quantified extent to which they use features provided by e.g. very local or parochial models, or by regional models of wider acceptance or by the international models provided by a standard language as in books. Thus, at the simplest level, a *three*-dimensional linguistic space is taken to represent also a social space:


Acts of identity
Regionalism - i.e. an 'Eastern Caribbean' or 'West Indian' identity
Internationalism
Localism, i.e. identification with one's local peer-group

Three-dimensional social space



Quantified proportion of linguistic forms with social significance

In the present paper I bring together data of three kinds: (2.1) from the social, demographic and economic history and description of St. Lucia; (2.2) from the linguistic behaviour of St. Lucian children; and (2.3) from our social and economic observations on the family circumstances of those children.

2. *An outline of relevant geographical, demographic, social, economic and political factors.*

2.1. *The general Eastern Caribbean setting, with linguistic implications*

I have elsewhere (Le Page 1967) drawn attention to the great potential interest of the Windward Islands, Barbados, and Trinidad to both historical linguists in general and creolists and sociolinguists in particular.

Barbados, settled predominantly from the West of England, Ireland and West Africa, remained a British colony from 1627 until the middle of the 20th century. Martinique and Guadeloupe were French colonies from the middle of the 17th century whose slaves came also from West Africa; Trinidad, a Spanish colony until the end of the 18th century, became British at the beginning of the 19th century after a brief period of French settlement. The remaining islands -- here I am particularly concerned with Dominica, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Grenada -- all had periods of French or partial French settlement, changed hands many times during the

wars of the latter part of the 18th century and finished up in British possession. St. Vincent remained primarily in British planters' hands for most of its settlement history once the Caribs, with whom the French planters had to some extent made common cause, had been defeated (v. Shephard 1823) and today the French patois is all-but-forgotten.[2] Creole French patois was the lingua franca of Trinidad at the beginning of the 19th century; today it is known only in a very fragmentary way by young people in a few areas, and spoken by a very few old people in those areas. Trinidad otherwise has its own creolised English vernacular, described by Solomon (1966), Warner (1967) and Winford (1972). In Grenada, St. Lucia and Dominica we can observe a series of comparable linguistic changes, from monolingualism in varieties of Creole French patois via bilingualism in those and English-learned-as-a-second-language (either in school, or in the market place, or both), towards bilingualism in a local creolised English vernacular and varieties of book-Standard or West Indian Standard English. The process is furthest advanced in Grenada, the most southerly of these islands, and least advanced in Dominica.

The following table from the 1946 Census Report gives some idea of the rate of change in St. Lucia (though it must be remembered that the census takes no account of creolised varieties of English as distinct from 'English', nor is the degree of 'command of the language' controlled from census to census):

Table I Population of St. Lucia by language(s) spoken

Year	Total	English or Patois monolingual		Both	Other (mostly Indian languages)	% non-English speakers
1911	48,637	2,653	28,492	15,037	2,455	61.7
1921	51,505	2,098	29,116	17,230	3,061	60.1
1946	70,113	1,608	30,357	37,977	171	43.4

Although culturally the Eastern Caribbean is to some extent one community, and the Anglophone islands even more so, it would be wrong to represent the linguistic changes taking place in these islands in a linear progression from 'basilectal' patois to 'acrolectal' West Indian Standard English, as Bickerton's model would require. Although the education system in each island confronts the school child with approximately the same written standard English, and even though the islanders have some sense of regional identity, what emerges from the flux of change in each case remains distinguishable from island to island, and is in any case not a monolingual situation. In order to understand the reasons for this one must, as in the comparable case of the Romance languages of Western Europe,[3] look (however briefly) at a variety of geographical, demographic, social, economic and political factors. In doing so I shall try to distinguish in the main between those which can for convenience be labelled as:

(a) Indigenous factors
(b) The 'Barbadian' influence
(c) The 'Martiniquan' influence
(d) The West African influence
(e) The metropolitan English influence
(f) The metropolitan French influence.

I shall then illustrate in some detail the way in which the grammatical forms used for 'habitual' predication by the children in our survey reflect these various influences, before going on to some more general observations based on the incidence of a wider range of features.

2.12 *St. Lucia*[4]

The fierceness of the Caribs beat off effective European colonisation of the island in the 17th century; settlement attempts were made from England in 1605 and 1639 but the settlers (up to 4000) were virtually exterminated. A tiny French group (40 men) from Martinique in 1651 had slightly better success, partly because the leader had a Carib wife, but after his death the little colony, cultivating ginger, cotton and tobacco near to what is now Castries, suffered more Carib attacks, and also English invasions from Barbados. The first of these, in 1659, was beaten off, but in 1663 one thousand Barbadians came to claim the island by virtue of its 'purchase' from the Carib chief. Sickness and Carib raids reduced the English to 89 who evacuated the island in 1666, whereupon the French, attempting to return, were driven out by the Governor of Barbados. From the 1670's on possession of the island was a shuttlecock between Barbados and the French Antilles; settlers and their slaves continued to arrive in small numbers from both, but predominantly from Martinique. In 1713 French military and naval deserters arrived to take up land; in 1722 a disastrous English expedition from Barbados was driven out by the French, who had been reinforced by about 1500 men from Martinique, possibly also some from Guadeloupe. After this the British and French jointly agreed to 'neutralise' the island and leave it to the Caribs, but in fact French settlers stayed on to work the estates they had built up, and more joined them from Martinique. The harbour of Le Carénage (Castries) and its environs became the chief area of settlement.

Philip Baker, in his detailed demographic history of Mauritius (1976), has shown how a small colony of Frenchmen, with a few small groups of prostitutes sent out from France from time to time to be their wives, and small numbers of slaves first from Madagascar and then from West Africa, succeeded in spite of Maroon attacks and the terrible toll of tropical diseases in forming within 30 years a community around Port Louis which had a strong enough sense of belonging to identify themselves as Mauritians and rapidly evolve as a lingua franca of the place something very like the French Creole patois which is still in use today. In studying the history of colonial settlements in many parts of the world one is struck over and over again by this same process: the rapid evolution of a sense of place, of communal identity and communal language, among settlers of very diverse origins in close daily interaction in the face of (perhaps because of) great vicissitudes. It seems that one of the most compulsive acts of identity men make is to show that they belong to a place, and are prepared to join forces with others there in order to defend themselves, their 'place' and that identity.

Certainly in St. Lucia by the late 1730's there were fairly-well established settlements, predominantly by planters from Martinique, St. Vincent and Grenada, planting cocoa and coffee. In the defence of these, English and French made common cause from time to time, as 'St. Lucians'. By 1745 the island had been divided into administrative and parochial *quartiers*. By 1752 four French priests had arrived. The Caribs seem to have withdrawn to more northerly islands or into the mountainous

interior. In 1762/3 there was a British administration for one year after Admiral Rodney had subdued both Martinique and St. Lucia, but the island reverted to French control.

In 1765 the first sugar estate was established at Vieux Fort; this began the development of lowland riverine plantations, with the concomitant need for large numbers of Black slaves. These seem to have been imported primarily via Martinique, and came from West Africa -- in small numbers from Senegal, the Ivory Coast, Whydah and Dahomey and in larger numbers from the Bight of Benin and the Congo. By 1769 the population had increased to over 12,000, the vast majority slaves; by 1772 it was set at '2,018 white, 663 coloured and 12,795 blacks'. By 1778 Britain and France were at war again and St. Lucia, because of its fine harbour and commanding position was a valuable prize. A force of 5,000 men sent by the British from New York captured the island and it was placed under British administration with a considerable garrison. Slaves deserted the French plantations to form Maroon settlements in the interior, intermingling with the remaining Caribs. The devastating hurricane of 1780 killed about 6,000 people in the island, and many of the planters abandoned their estates and left. Thus the demographic distribution shifted away from the riverine plantations where French colonial influence was strongest, into the mountains where the patois-speaking Maroons hunted and carried on subsistence farming, while the British administrative influence did not make itself felt far beyond Castries harbour and the garrisons around it.

Between 1784 and 1803 the island changed hands several more times between France and Britain, with considerable troop movements. Moreover, in 1789 the cause of the Revolution was taken up with alacrity by the Blacks of the French Antilles; planters and their families were driven out of Martinique, Guadeloupe and St. Lucia and took refuge in Trinidad. When Britain retook the island, in 1794 and again in 1796, insurgent slaves and runaway French troops formed a formidable guerrilla force in the interior which did not surrender until 1797, when many of them were formed into a regiment and sent to West Africa. In spite of the turbulence of this period, and the terrible ravages of disease and natural disaster, there was again evidence of a growing sense of identity among the remaining planters of both French and British origin, and in particular among the increasing population of free coloured people who by 1800 numbered about 1,700 or one-tenth of the population. Indeed, as in Belize, as in Jamaica, as in Mauritius, it was the free people of colour, becoming an urban middle class with no strong roots in countries other than the colony of their birth, who in the face of external and internal threats gave the greatest sense of identity to each community. Breen, the historian of St. Lucia in 1844, notes that Creole French patois was familiarly used among all ranks of Creoles in the island, even the highest.

There were no schools before 1834 and only those who could speak French (rather than patois) could profit from instruction in the Roman Catholic churches. In the 1830's the Mico charity established some small Protestant schools in the island; the language of instruction in these was English, the teachers mostly from English-speaking islands and trained in Antigua. It was not until 1890 that the Government decided to subsidise schools run by all religious denominations and the Roman Catholics took the lead in establishing primary schools for all. They opened a secondary school for boys and one for girls in Castries in the 1890's.

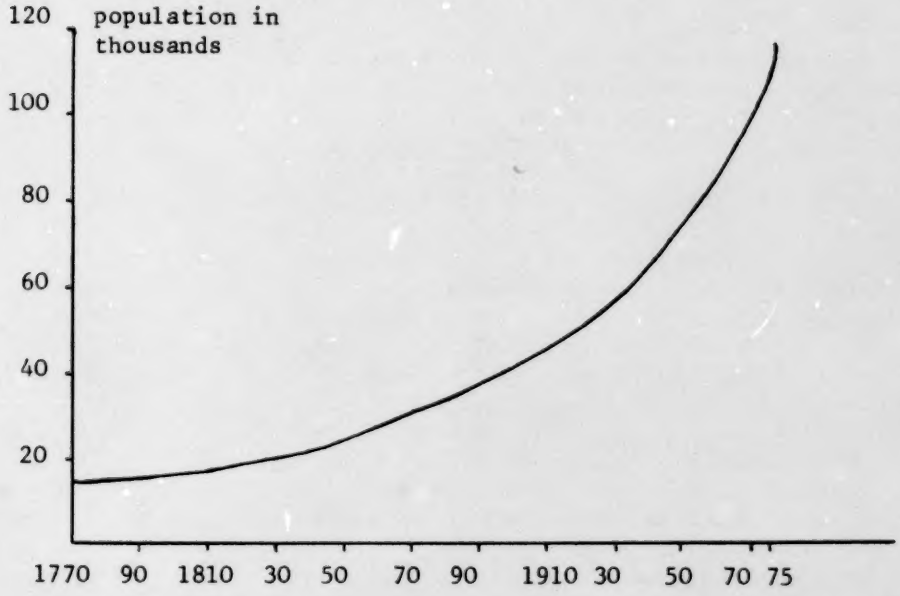
Not unnaturally, the educational system, being in English, reinforced the privileged position of those whose home language was English -- the urban middle classes of Castries.

Because of the very mountainous nature of the island internal communications have remained bad until today. The 19th century centres of white and coloured settlement were the string of small ports which grew up around the coast to serve the riverine sugar estates, with Castries and its military garrison forming an administrative and commercial centre having very often easier links by sea than by land. Refugees continued to leave Martinique and land by canoe on the beaches of St. Lucia, and Martinique continued for some time to be the trade entrepôt for the island, but the administrative links were between Castries and Barbados and increasingly the entrepôt trade went there too. At the end of the 19th century a development took place which was to draw population from all over the island to Castries and at the same time to re-inforce the capital's external links: it became a major coaling station both for the British fleet and for the international steamship companies. Troops were withdrawn from Barbados, Trinidad and Demerara to guard it, and Barbadian labourers brought in to build. The prosperity it brought lasted only until the first World War; by the end of that war, oil had replaced coal.

During the first half of the 20th century the Barbadian connection was reinforced in a number of ways.[5] The Anglican church schools, and to some extent the Methodist, traditionally had Barbadian head teachers, and many of the Anglican churches had Barbadian priests. St. Mary's College depended mainly on Barbados for its assistant staff. Between the two wars there was a policy of recruiting police and civil servants from Barbados, and a major land settlement scheme for Barbadians at Vieux Fort.

Between the two wars St. Lucia suffered the stagnation common in the Caribbean due to the recession of trade and low commodity prices; labour migration which had been endemic since the latter part of the 19th century to the Cayenne goldfields and the digging of the Panama canal now turned towards Trinidad and the United States. Plantations turned over to bananas, and then back to sugar as banana disease ruined the crop. During the Second World War the island had a boost to its economy through the building of American naval and air Lend-Lease bases at Gros Islet and Vieux Fort respectively. After the war there followed the various zig-zag moves towards independence, first through the Federation of the West Indies and then, when that broke up, in various other forms of association in the Eastern Caribbean and with the United Kingdom. From the 1950's on the rate of population increase in this predominantly Roman Catholic island has been almost disastrous -- due to a combination of Catholic resistance to birth control and medical eradication of population-controlling diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis, yellow fever and dysentery. There was fairly concentrated migration to the U.K. in the 1960's, since reduced to a trickle; the island now looks to the tourist trade and to bananas for its salvation, but its foreign trade deficit increased sixfold between 1965 and 1975. Moreover, as the graph below shows, the rate of increase of the population is now such that in 1970 almost half of the population were under 14 years of age, and with 75% of all births illegitimate family planning does not seem likely to take effect very quickly. In spite of the application of a great deal of foreign aid and internal revenue to school building and teacher training illiteracy (as we found in our survey) is still at a very high rate. Subsistence farming in the hills is the

mainstay of a large number of families, but it cannot support the younger generations now being born.



St. Lucia population 1772 - 1975

In the past, the road to individual advancement for St. Lucians has lain either through education, or through migration, or both; and in both the advantage lay with the English-speaking urban middle class families. All parents have wanted English-medium education for their children. But the mountain villages, with their Catholicism, traditional oral literature from both Africa and Europe and tradition of independence, have been very conservative of the Creole French against which the untrained village teacher of 'English' -- also a native patois speaker -- has battled very largely in vain. If the children could have been given literacy in that patois, the story might have been quite different; for political reasons virtual illiteracy in English has been the lot of most, and the money spent on education has been largely wasted. Today, the rural people are very torn; they reject patois as something backward, but they are proud of it as distinctively theirs. They reject an agriculture which cannot support them, and a rural life which offers no comforts, and want instead to be mechanics and urban dwellers. They are proud of their past French connection, but feel that Trinidad and Barbados, America and Canada are their best economic goals. It is a familiar story. Wherever they can, the men leave; there is a considerable excess of women over men in the island. The tourist trade serves to emphasize the difference in living standards between white countries and black countries, and anti-white sentiment is growing.

2.2 *The Sociolinguistic survey and the linguistic evidence.*

Our sample of 100 children was drawn from schools in the northern end of the island, so as to reflect in the sample:

sex (equal numbers)
age (two groups, of 10 years old and 14 years)
geographical location (urban, rural, remote rural, main-road tourist resort)
ethnic origin (Creole, East Indian)

Each child was recorded in conversation and story-telling by Ghislaine Maury; the household the child lived in was visited by Marcel Diki-Kidiri, who collected socio-economic and cultural data against a questionnaire. The recorded conversation was then transcribed and samples of 400 words taken from each of three modes: early conversation, late conversation, story-telling. In each of these samples, the incidence of twelve linguistic features was quantified, chosen because in the pilot analysis they seemed to be associated with Standard English and 'book-learning', or with the Bajanised English of Castries, or with the English spoken by those mostly accustomed to use patois. A cluster-analysis programme [CLUSTAN] has been used to determine, according to various selections from the resultant 36 quantities, which children in the sample were most alike in their linguistic behaviour. Finally, 'degree of association' calculations have been made to relate membership of linguistic clusters to each of twelve socio-economic factors in turn, and a hierarchy of degrees of association thus established. The method is, with various refinements, substantially that described in Le Page *et al*, 1974. The cluster analysis is not yet complete; for the moment I wish to confine myself to (a) a discussion of the incidence of forms for habitual predication and (b) a brief statement as to our preliminary results clustering with some of the twelve features.

2.21 *Forms for the habitual*

I do not wish to suppose that there is a semantic universal [HABITUAL] but simply here use the term as a convenient abstraction for a number of relationships between predicates and their subjects which are undefined as to tense and aspect except that they imply that what has been done in the past continues and is likely to continue.

In my *Sample West Indian Texts* (1972) I find versions of the model sentences from the grammar questionnaire being given as follows in Jamaica, St. Vincent and Grenada.[6]

Standard	He always writes like this
J	him rait so aal di taim
St.V	a so i doz aalwez rait
G	i aalwez raitin so

Standard	I live at the crossroads
J	mi lib rait a di kraas ruod
St.V	mi liv we tu rood kraas
G	a livin in di jongkshan a di tuu rodz

Standard	What kind of company does he keep?
J	a we kain a kumpini him kip?
St.V	wot kaind ov komponi shi doz kiip?
G	wot kainda kompini { hi doz kip / hi kipin }
or	

Standard	He seldom stays at home
J	him haadli tan a yaad
St.V	i doz haadli de hom
G	hi doz seldom ste hom

Standard	Good children go to heaven
J	gud pikni ga-a hebm
St.V	gud pikni doz gu a hevn
G	gud childrin go-in tu hevn

Habitual meanings overlap with other continuative or progressive constructions, and this part of the semantic field is focussed variously from culture to culture and by a variety of formal items in each code. The West Indian *do/does* forms derive to some extent from West of England and Irish uses, to be found in the *English Dialect Dictionary*, e.g. East Devon *sheep da browse*, Cornwall *As fast as I do go to one, they do go to another*, Gloucestershire *I do like, I do feel* etc., Irish *your cow does be threspassin on my fields.* In my Barbadian (Bajan) texts I find (I have standardized the spellings here):

I does sell sweetie there at the school
I does make about three or four dollars a day
He does tell me to bring it to court
etc.

The habitual *-ing* forms (e.g. /hi kipin/ etc. above) are common in Grenada, co-exist with *does* forms in Trinidad, and do not seem to occur in Barbados. The Barbadian forms are common in St. Vincent and do occur in Grenada and St. Lucia, but both habitual *-ing* and habitual *does* are rare in my data from Jamaica, Belize and the Leeward Islands.

The other forms used by the St. Lucian children are: (i) normal standard, e.g. 'I live at 53 Mount Coco Road', and (on three occasions only in the data examined here and therefore ignored) 'I am living ...' (ii) the generalized inflection in *-s*, common in many non-standard British dialects resulting in non-standard 'I, you, we, they lives ...' and (iii) a number of other forms most of which can be listed as hypercorrections (although in some cases they may equally well be regarded as translating a French or patois idiom) or over-generalizations of rules, as in 'he live ...'

Our particular working hypothesis here, derived from our pilot survey and from the materials in *Sample West Indian Texts*, is that standard English forms are associated with book-learning; *-ing* forms with a quite widespread, regional English vernacular with its roots in former patois-speaking territories; *does* forms with another widespread regional English vernacular with its roots in Barbados and influencing St. Lucia via the urban vernacular of Castries; and that hypercorrection is associated with a desire to be identified as a Standard English speaker. The generalized inflection *-s* also seems to be associated with Castries usage but the incidence is too low to be very sure about this.

Our general working hypothesis, as stated in a number of earlier papers (e.g. Le Page *et al.* 1974, Le Page 1975a) is that each person creates the rules for his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, to the extent that (a) he is able to identify each group (b) he has sufficient access to it and ability to analyse its behaviour (c) he is sufficiently motivated and (d) he is still able to modify his behaviour. Thus, in interpreting the table below, and the clustering data in 2.3, we assume that it ought to be possible to discover factors (including, under (c), aversive factors) to explain the child's resolution of the problems of identity and social role confronting him of which his linguistic behaviour is assumed to be symptomatic.

Table II(a) sets out the incidence in the conversation with Ghislaine Maury of 28 children, selected at random from our sample of 100, of the various forms for the habitual.[7] Here I should like to emphasize once more what I have said above: we do *not* assume, as Bickerton implies, that there is some universal category of aspect, 'the habitual'. Indeed, some of the children seemed to be inclined to make a semantic distinction of various kinds between one form and another, for example between habitual punctual and habitual progressive, whilst others did not, e.g. child 082:

> (speaking of an evil spirit) [spelling normalised]
> They say he taking your hair and go with it ... they [spirits] does go with you ... they say they does take you and kill you and take your blood for the devil ... they giving theyself to the devil and they does give them money ...
>
> The people be in the roads and the people come, they coming, they making something and when they reach they seeing a man paying in front of them and they asking him what he want and he telling them what they want ...
>
> [Later talking about the games people play]
> In the shop they play for sweets they drinking rum.

In Table II(b) the children are ranked in order of their use of the five features under consideration. By dividing each of the hierarchies into ten- or twenty-percentile groups we can carry out a very simple and crude cluster-analysis by inspection; in Table II (c) the results of such an analysis are presented. Each child has been given a set of 5 digits, numbering in order its place in one of up to 6 (Ø, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) percentile groups in each hierarchy. By plotting these hierarchy positions on a two-dimensional graph whose axes are the incidence of standard forms and that of *-ing* forms it is not difficult to inspect the digits for similarity in the remaining three dimensions, in particular for the *does* incidence which is represented by the third digit. Doing so, the nuclei of three clusters emerge, one containing five children with the highest incidence of standard forms; the next, five with the highest incidence of *does*; the third, five with the highest incidence of *-ing*.

In this way, fifteen of the 28 children can be tentatively assigned to clusters, and in the next section I examine the non-linguistic data for each of these children and their families to see whether there appears to be a high degree of association between membership of these clusters and other factors. In other words, we shall be testing the homogeneity or lack of homogeneity of St. Lucian society insofar as it is represented by these children.

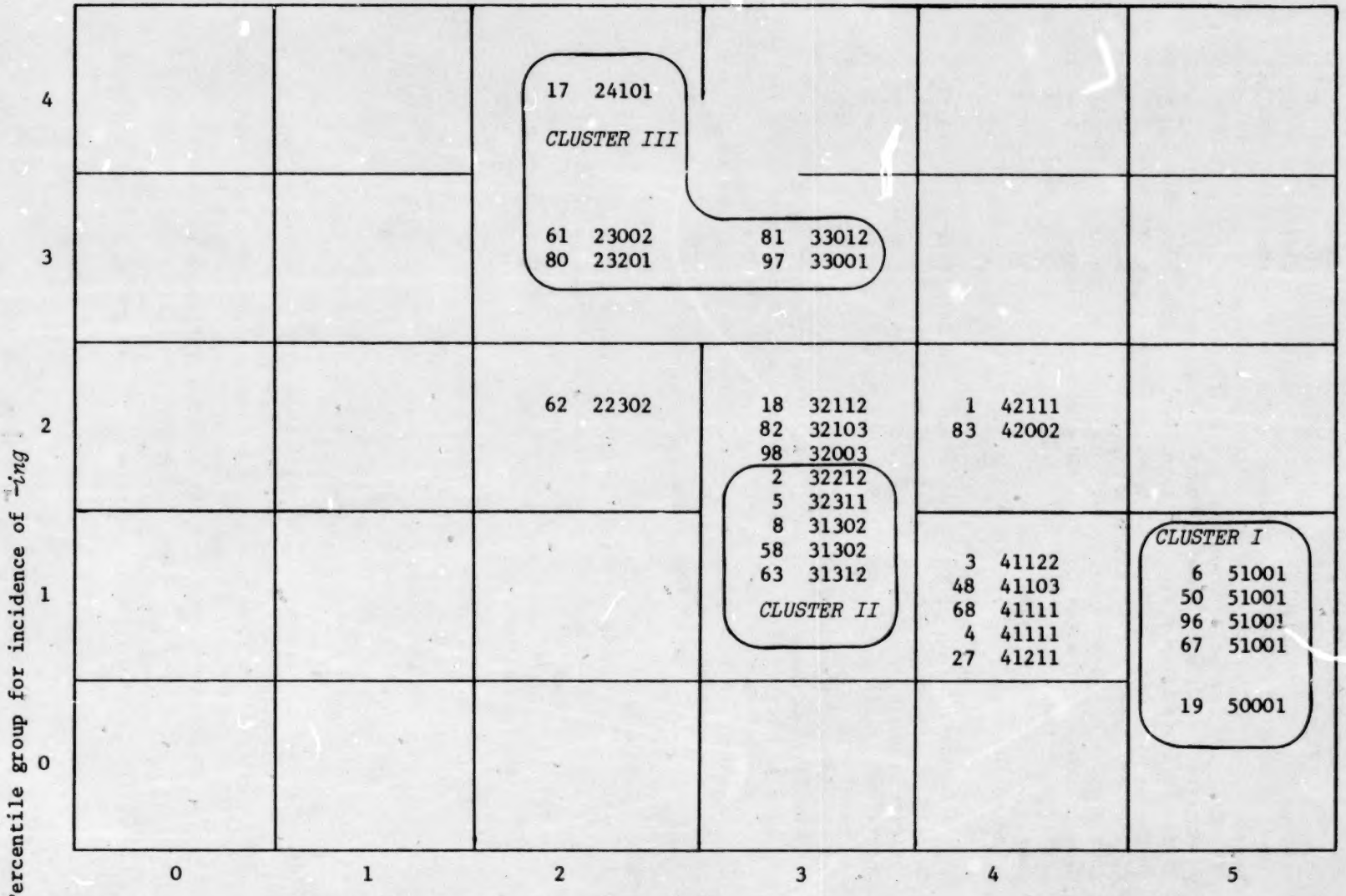
Table II (a) Forms used for habitual aspect in conversation by 28 St. Lucian children.

Informant No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	17	18	19	27	48	50	58	61	62	63	67	68	79	80	81	82	83	96	97	98	Over-all percentage.
In conversation, % of 'habitual' phrases having the following forms:																													
Standard	62	49	62	74	46	83	52	56	29	51	94	67	64	94	53	36	31	46	86	71	46	38	51	40	61	80	41	47	57.5
-ing	25	21	7	3	24	14	31	9	60	22	Ø	5	7	4	11	49	20	18	14	18	38	41	47	30	27	18	53	32	23.
-does	7	13	2	11	20	Ø	9	23	4	3	Ø	16	4	Ø	20	Ø	36	20	Ø	1	10	18	Ø	9	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	8.
non-standard *-s* e.g. I you we they lives	2	4	12	3	2	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	5	Ø	5	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	2	Ø	1	2	Ø	2	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	Ø	1.5
Other forms, especially hypercorrection and over-generalization e.g. he live etc.	4	13	17	9	8	3	8	12	7	19	6	7	25	2	16	15	13	14	Ø	9	4	3	Ø	21	12	2	6	21	10.
N for each informant	100= 45	52	56	35	58	36	65	57	58	37	54	43	28	53	45	60	45	44	22	78	63	39	53	77	44	50	34	47	100= 1378

Table II (b) Children arranged in order according to incidence of forms:

| | | |

Table II (c)


Percentile group for incidence of -ing
4
3
2
1
0
17 24101
CLUSTER III
61 23002
80 23201
81 33012
97 33001
62 22302
18 32112
82 32103
98 32003
2 32212
5 32311
8 31302
58 31302
63 31312
CLUSTER II
1 42111
83 42002
3 41122
48 41103
68 41111
4 41111
27 41211
CLUSTER I
6 51001
50 51001
96 51001
67 51001
19 50001
0
1
2
3
4
5
Percentile group for incidence of Standard forms

Such a procedure is no substitute for the infinitely more refined clustering process for which the CLUSTAN programme is designed. It means, for example, that in respect of Standard forms child 4, scoring 74%, is grouped with child 83, scoring 61%, rather than with child 96, scoring 80%. It would be a matter of complex calculation to assign the remaining 13 children to clusters. I have deliberately confined myself to a discussion of just one grammatical function. Until the clustering programme has been carried a great deal further than it is at present possible to report, however, this procedure is useful in laying bare a means by which children can be seen as positioning themselves in the multi-dimensional space referred to at the beginning of this paper; each set of 5 digits provides a crude set of co-ordinates in such a space. It provides us with an easily-apprehensible sociolinguistic model which is, it seems to me, a more adequate alternative to the linear and implicational model provided by Bickerton. We are dealing here with people who embody systems, not with a theoretical system, a 'grammar' which may be embodied partially in a number of different people.

Before dealing with the non-linguistic data I set out briefly details of all the linguistic features which were quantified in the children's usage, in each of three modes: the early part of the first interview; telling a story; the latter part of the second interview.[8]

(a) Standard English features:
- (i) correct use of plural inflection on count nouns
- (ii) correct use of *-ing* forms (nominal/verbal *-ing* or verbal continuative aspect in BE...*-ing* constructions)
- (iii) correct past inflection of verbs, either strong (e.g. took) or weak (e.g. cooked)
- (iv) correct third person singular inflection of verbs

(b) Creole English features:
- (i) *does* as an aspectual marker, as described above
- (ii) *did* as a general past marker with verbs, as in *I did go* for *I went*.

[(i) and (ii) were subsequently counted together, as both originally Barbadian features.]

(c) Creole-French-patois-influenced features:
- (i) Use of HAVE instead of BE in such sentences as 'I am ten years old' or 'There is ..., there are ...' which are parallel to Patois 'mwẽ *ni* diz ã', 'i ni ...' and to French 'j'*ai* dix ans', 'il y *a* ...'
- (ii) Use of a personal pronoun [i] instead of 'she' or 'it'

(d) Features influenced alike by Creole French patois and Creole English:
- (i) Use of *-ing* alone as an aspectual marker; as described above, this is common today in the creolized English of the formerly Francophone islands, and may therefore in St. Lucian speech derive either directly from the influence of patois or from e.g. Grenadian or Trinidadian use.
- (ii) Invariability of count nouns as to number
- (iii) Invariability of verb forms in 3rd person present singular and all persons past tense.

(e) Hypercorrection. This has been counted only in reference to Standard English forms, although rule over-generalization is also a theoretical possibility for those moving in the direction of other models such as Barbadian or Trinidadian. The forms identified are:
(i) Misuse of plural inflections
(ii) Misuse of verbal inflections

In each case, the incidence of the feature has been expressed as a percentage of theoretically possible loci in each of the three modes of the child's discourse.

2.3 *The non-linguistic data.*

I do not propose here to deal with the very considerable amount of information gleaned by the team both from preparatory reading and during the field-work periods in St. Lucia, nor with the language use questionnaire completed with each child by Ghislaine Maury (these are dealt with in the DGRST report, and the search for the information followed the plan laid down in Le Page 1975a). I give very briefly the categories assigned to each of the 100 children, mostly on the basis of the interview by Marcel Diki-Kidiri of the household in which the child was living and the answers given by an older member of that household to a questionnaire and through personal observation. These categories were coded for the computation programme as follows:

		Categories denoted by numbered columns	*Number of children in the sample in each category*
I	Age	1 Approx. 10 years	50
		2 Approx. 14 years	50
II	Sex	1 Male	46
		2 Female	54
III	School level	1 Primary standards 1-4	48
		2 Primary standards 5-6	27
		3 Secondary	25
IV	Type of family - parents	0 Living with only one parent or parent-figure (e.g. grandparent, uncle or aunt)	43
		1 Living with two	57
V	Type of family - elder siblings	0 Having no elder siblings	23
		1 Having elder siblings	77
VI	Type of family - younger siblings	0 Having no younger siblings	14
		1 Having younger siblings	86
VII	Accommodation available in home	1 Averaging one person per room	10
		2 two persons	24
		3 three	45
		4 four or more	21
VIII	Possession of various consumer durables	0 Possessing none of the following	9
		1 Radio only	35
		2 Plus record player	13
		3 Plus refrigerator also	20
		4 Plus television set also	23

IX	Location of home	1	Very remote rural	8
		2	Rural	15
		3	On main road	29
		4	In Castries	48
X	Religion claimed for members of household	1	Wholly Roman Catholic	75
		2	Wholly other denominations	14
		3	Mixed	11
XI	Apparent degree of political involvement in household	1	Indifferent or ignorant	35
		2	Having opinions but not actively involved	61
		3	Actively involved	4
XII	Language(s) claimed as mainly spoken in household	1	Patois French only	12
		2	English only	17
		3	Both	71
XIII	Colour claimed for family	0	No claim made	16
		1	Black~Negro~Coloured	36
		2	Brown~Dark	27
		3	Fair~light~'clair'~middle	9
		4	'Shabin'~'rouge'~red	10
		5	(East) Indian	2

In Table III (below) I give the categorization for the fifteen children clustered in Table II c.

Table III Membership of three tentative linguistic clusters with socio-economic categories of each member.

Cluster (i) High incidence of standard English

Child No.	Digital coordinates	Categories I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
6	51001	1	2	1	1	1	1	3	4	4	1	2	2	1
19	50001	1	1	1	0	1	1	4	4	4	1	2	2	0
50	51001	2	1	2	1	1	1	3	3	2	1	2	3	2
67	51001	2	2	2	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3	4
96	51001	2	2	3	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	2	3	3

Both sexes are represented. One child is in secondary, two in higher primary grades. The distribution is widespread, with two of the children coming from very rural homes, two in Castries, one 'main road'. Two families claim to speak mainly English, the other three claim both languages. Wide colour spectrum represented.

Cluster (ii) High *-ing* group

17	24101	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	2	3	3
61	23002	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	3	2
80	23201	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	1
81	33012	2	1	3	1	1	1	3	1	3	3	1	3	2
97	33001	1	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	3	3

Mostly younger girls, all from families claiming to use both patois and English. Boy older and in secondary school; girls in low primary grades. None *very* rural, but only 1 urban. Two from non-RC families. Two families 'fair', two 'dark', one Black. (Child 80 might well be re-assigned to Cluster iii.) This group has the lowest number of people per room.

Cluster (iii) High *does* group

		Categories												
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII
2	32212	1	1	1	0	0	1	4	0	4	2	2	3	2
5	32311	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	4	4	1	2	3	0
8	31302	1	2	1	0	1	0	4	4	4	1	2	3	1
58	31302	1	1	1	0	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	3	0
63	31312	2	2	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	3	2

Both sexes; mostly young. The most urban cluster - 3 from Castries, one 'main road', one rural, none *very* rural. The darkest average colour cluster. The highest average number of people per room.

Table IV gives the results of two preliminary clusterings, distributing the membership of each cluster in percentages among the categories of the family questionnaire as set out above. IV a is a clustering in four clusters according to the incidence of features (b) (i) and (ii) in formal and informal conversation; IV b, a clustering in four clusters according to the incidence of features (a)(i), (ii), (b)(i), (ii), (c)(i), (ii), (d)(i), (e)(i), (ii) in formal and informal conversation and story-telling.

3. *Discussion.*

The shadowy picture which begins to emerge from Table III is of the *does* cluster as representing a somewhat crowded urban class who either prefer not to make any claim about colour or claim to be Black or Dark, contrasting with the *-ing* cluster who are non-urban, rather less crowded and tending to claim a lighter colour. The *Standard* cluster seems to contain ambitious youngsters from all parts and of all colours.

When we look again at the children in Table IIc not yet clustered, however, we find that the use of *does* extends quite widely outside Castries, It will be necessary to undertake further work to see whether it is spreading or not. It will be interesting to investigate the common usage emerging (if one is) among the teacher-trainees in the recently-established Teacher Training College on the Morne Fortuné.

When we examine Table IV, it becomes clear that St. Lucian society - at least as represented by these children - is more homogeneous than that which we studied in Cayo District, Belize; and there are no very clear degrees of association between patterns of linguistic behaviour on the one hand and the non-linguistic categories on the other beyond those of age and sex. In IV a, clusters 3 and 4 contain predominantly younger children, in the lower grades of the school; but the remainder in cluster 3 are in the upper primary, the remainder in cluster 4 in the secondary, school grades. Cluster 4, like cluster 2, contains no 'patois-only' homes; it has the highest proportion of non-Roman Catholic families; it is the most predominantly urban cluster; it contains the highest proportion of low-ownership homes. Cumulatively therefore this clustering tends to support the evidence of Table III; there is a group of comparatively under-privileged urban families, claiming not to speak patois, and containing the highest proportion of *does* users.

Table IV a

		I Age		II Sex		III School			IV		V Family		VI	
		1	2	1	2	1	2	3	0	1	0	1	0	1
1	N=67	45%	55	40	60	40	31	29	42	58	25	75	13	87
2	N=19	53%	47	64	46	53	21	26	47	53	10	90	10	90
3	N= 8	75%	25	50	50	75	25	Ø	37	63	25	75	12	88
4	N= 7	72%	28	43	57	72	Ø	28	43	57	43	57	28	72
All children N=100		50	50	46	54	48	27	25	43	57	23	77	14	86

	VII No. per room				VIII Ownership					IX Location			
	1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1	12	18	46	24	10	36	10	24	20	10	17	30	43
2	5	42	37	16	11	31	21	11	26	5	11	26	58
3	Ø	38	50	12	Ø	25	12	13	50	12	13	25	50
4	14	14	58	14	Ø	58	14	14	14	Ø	14	14	72
All children	10	24	45	21	9	35	13	20	23	8	15	29	48

	X Religion			XI Politics			XII Language			XIII Colour					
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	4	5
1	77	11	12	39	58	3	16	16	68	18	36	23	11	12	Ø
2	68	16	16	21	74	5	Ø	21	79	11	37	42	5	Ø	5
3	88	12	Ø	25	63	12	12	13	75	25	50	Ø	Ø	25	Ø
4	57	43	Ø	43	57	Ø	Ø	14	86	Ø	14	58	14	Ø	14
All children	75	14	11	35	61	4	12	17	71	16	36	27	9	10	2

Table IV b

		I Age		II Sex		III School			IV		V Family		VI	
		1	2	1	2	1	2	3	0	1	0	1	0	1
1	N=34	80%	20	50	50	80	9	11	48	52	20	80	14	86
2	N=23	61%	39	35	65	52	30	18	39	61	35	65	13	87
3	N=23	22%	78	52	48	22	30	48	48	52	17	83	17	83
4	N=20	20%	80	35	65	15	50	35	30	70	15	85	5	95
All children	N=100	50	50	46	54	48	27	25	43	57	23	77	14	86

		VII No. per room				VIII Ownership					IX Location			
		1	2	3	4	0	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1		6	35	32	27	3	32	17	21	27	Ø	9	29	62
2		9	22	60	9	13	35	13	22	17	4	13	40	43
3		4	4	53	39	17	26	4	18	35	13	22	26	39
4		25	30	40	5	10	45	15	20	10	15	20	20	45
All children	N=100	10	24	45	21	9	35	13	20	23	8	15	29	48

		X Religion			XI Politics			XII Language			XIII Colour					
		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	4	5
1		76	12	12	21	76	3	Ø	9	91	15	41	29	9	3	3
2		66	17	17	35	65	Ø	13	26	61	17	39	9	13	22	Ø
3		88	8	4	30	61	9	13	26	61	17	31	31	13	4	4
4		85	10	5	60	35	5	25	10	65	Ø	50	35	Ø	10	5
All children	N=100	75	14	11	35	61	4	12	17	71	16	36	27	9	10	2

An examination of IV b shows age as a sharply-distinguishing factor between clusters, Cluster 1 being composed 80% of younger children, Clusters 3 and 4 78% and 80% respectively of older children; Cluster 2 is rather more evenly divided. Clusters 2 and 4 each contain 65% girls; the other two clusters are evenly divided for sex. Although both Clusters 3 and 4 contain the older children, Cluster 3 has a somewhat higher proportion in secondary school than Cluster 4 (the one which contains the higher proportion of girls). The children in Cluster 1 are not only the youngest on average, and (not surprisingly) the lowest down the school, but none of them comes from a patois-only-speaking family and 91% come from bilingual homes, whereas 25% of the Cluster 4 families claim to speak patois only at home. Cluster 1 covers the widest band of the colour-spectrum, Cluster 4 the narrowest (and darkest). Cluster 4 is the least privileged in ownership.

Further clusterings are about to be undertaken, and a great deal of further exploration of both the linguistic and non-linguistic data, the results of which will be published in due course. It is already clear however that, while linguistic change is in progress in St. Lucia with changing patterns of bilingualism, there is no uniform move towards a common acrolect.

What Bickerton's theory of linguistic change seems to rule out is that, under circumstances unfavourable to the convergence of vernaculars towards an international model, there may be convergence towards (or, in my terminology - see Le Page 1975a, a focussing of) various regional or local models. Such circumstances were provided in post-Roman Europe by isolation; it may well be that in present-day St. Lucia they are provided by the high birth-rate in relation to the exigencies of the education system, in spite of the international focussing which the media and the tourist industry would seem to encourage. Exactly what distinctive form the local St. Lucian variety of English will take cannot be predicted but undoubtedly one will emerge, and re-creolization will be seen to have played its part.

FOOTNOTES

1 For Stage II (the St. Lucian survey): R. B. Le Page and Andrée Tabouret-Keller, joint directors; Ghislaine Maury and Marcel Diki-Kidiri, fieldworkers and research assistants; Anthony J Weekes, statistical and computational consultant. Finance has been provided by the DGRST and the CNRS in Paris and by the Universities of York and Louis Pasteur, Strasbourg.

2 When in 1954 I visited an old lady reputed to be the last surviving 'Carib' speaker, her 'Carib' vocabulary turned out to contain a number of patois words.

3 The important *difference* from the Romance situation lies in the isolation in which the Romance communities developed in the centuries after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, compared with the continuing close cultural contact which the Caribbean islands

have today with one another and with North America and Britain. Thus at an educated level there would appear to be an international convergence of varieties of English today, rather than continuing divergence; there are also regional convergences. My note is however purely impressionistic.

4 For this account I have relied mainly on Breen (1844), Jesse (1970) and the State Papers, Blue Books, Administrative Reports and Census reports listed in the DGRST report. See also the introductory chapter to Carrington (1967).

5 Mr. H.D. Boxhill, a retired St. Lucia Director of Education, himself a Barbadian, has supplied me with details. Since this paper went to press, however, I have had a letter from Mr Robert DeVaux, of Castries, pointing out that in the early 1900's large numbers of labourers also came from Nevis and St. Marten, to work on military projects. He feels that Barbadian influence *was* felt, but that the strongest influence on language in Castries was the Mico school, and its dynamic Antiguan headmaster Mr T.D. Gordon.

6 Although in *Sample West Indian Texts* I phonemicised the vernacular of each island independently, here I have for simplicity used a common morphophonemic spelling for all three, based on Jamaican.

7 Although two interviews were held with each child, they are here lumped together as one session. In the first interview the child was asked about school topics, in the second about such things as black magic, and games.

8 The description here is that of Marcel Diki-Kidiri in his report to the DGRST (1977).

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